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PACT AREAUS CONTRIBUTIONI. INTRODUCTION

The following report is the US submission for the Liaison Committee meeting to be held at London in July 1958.

II. CURRENT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST STRATEGY

The most significant event affecting the Soviet orbit during the period under review, was the revival of the sharp dispute between Moscow and Belgrade. The International Communist Movement clearly demonstrated during the first quarter of 1958 an ever increasing concern over the problem which it characterizes as "revisionism." This problem, which has manifested itself at many levels of the Communist power structure, from the central leadership echelon of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) down to and including both legal and illegal parties in the Free World, is in essence the challenging of the principles of centralism, the key disciplinary feature of International Communism. Extensive discussion and denunciation of revisionism in Party theoretical journals, in Party Congress and Central Committee resolutions, and in the main party newspapers of the Soviet Bloc states has been accompanied by punitive and disciplinary measures ranging from expulsion of leading Party functionaries and factional groups to tightened Party controls over publications and professional organizations among writers etc.

At the international level, the Yugoslav Party has been the target of steadily intensifying criticism by the CPSU and Satellite Parties. The immediate cause of the Soviet-Yugoslav polemics was the publication on March 13, 1958, of the Yugoslav Party program, which contained an extensive analysis of the state of the world and of international communism differing widely

from the declaration issued by the twelve Bloc parties in Moscow in November 1957. The Yugoslav program rejects Soviet claims to leadership of the Bloc and the International Communist Movement. It sees claims of one country to "hegemony" as a threat to the free internal development of other socialist countries and refuses to equate support of the USSR on every issue with loyalty to the general cause of Communism. In reply to this program the Moscow journal Kommunist argued in an article published on April 17, that Moscow's role as the "center of the world revolutionary movement" was determined by historic necessity and insisted on ideological conformity. Moscow also viewed "proletarian internationalism" -- a euphemism for subservience to Moscow -- as the bedrock of relations between Communist-ruled countries and Communist parties, arguing that this principle "under certain conditions" demands the subordination of the national interests of one country to those of the proletarian struggle on a world-wide scale.

The Yugoslav program also contended that the increasing control exercised by states over the economic might of "monopolistic capital" introduces socialist elements into the economies of capitalist countries and facilitates a peaceful evolutionary transition to socialism in these countries. This emphasis on an evolutionary development was sharply criticized by Moscow as "distracting the attention of the proletariat from the historic task of the revolutionary conquest of power," which, it insists, must be followed by a dictatorship of the proletariat and suppression of the overthrown "exploiting classes." Among criticism of Yugoslavia in the satellites, the most scathing so far came from Communist China in an article in the Peoples Daily of May 5, which reaffirmed the correctness of the June 1948 Cominform resolution condemning the Yugoslav Party's position and charged Yugoslavia with the aim of "splitting the International Communist Movement."

Stripped of its Communist phraseology this conflict reflects the basic

incompatibility of current Soviet and Yugoslav political aims in Eastern Europe. While Moscow seeks tighter central control over the satellites, Belgrade is striving to keep its influence in Eastern European affairs. The dispute also demonstrates Moscow's determination to keep central control of the Bloc. It shows that assertions of respect for "national independence" and "sovereignty" are merely tactical devices to facilitate affiliation of states with the Soviet Bloc and quiet their fears of Soviet domination. *Threats to withdraw economic aid to Yugoslavia show the hollowness of the Soviet assertion* that the USSR was giving economic aid "without strings attached." Aside from demonstrating once again the real aims of the Soviet Union and its intent to use the International Communist Movement merely as an instrumentality in the pursuance of these aims, this conflict is likely to prove of significance for subversive activities in the Baghdad Pact area. Yugoslavia has ties with radical elements in a number of the states of the region, and the maintenance of peaceful Yugoslav-Soviet relations over the past three years has encouraged other states to adopt attitudes toward the USSR which were similar to those of Yugoslavia.

The hardening of the Soviet Union's attitude toward "deviationism" has so far not affected its relations with the states of Asia which are outside the Bloc. In these relations emphasis continues to be on the state to state relationship with emphasis on economic aid. The Soviet reaction to the formation of the United Arab Republic (UAR) illustrates very well the present Soviet strategy in the region. There is ample evidence that the USSR was temporarily discountenanced when in the creation of the UAR, a close union rather than a loose federal relationship was decided upon. The formation of the UAR was probably regarded by the Soviet Government essentially as a setback for its aims in the region since the chance of turning Syria into an outright satellite had, at least temporarily, been lost. *Soviet silence*

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on the subject of the UAR continued until late March when the Soviets began to approve the UAR and to adjust their relationships to the new situation.

During the Moscow visit of President Gamal Abd al-Nasir in May 1958, the leaders of the Soviet Union showed great cordiality. It is interesting to note, however, that the text of the toast made by Soviet Premier Khrushchev at a Kremlin banquet on May 15, which referred to Soviet support for Arab union under Nasir's leadership, was considerably toned down in the Tass version which referred merely to the "Soviet people" wanting to see "the cohesion" of the Arabs in the fight against "the colonizers." It is also significant that in the Tass version this part of Khrushchev's toast was not given in direct quotation. This seems to indicate that even now the endorsement of the UAR by the Soviet Union is a cautious one and that the USSR does not want the development of a genuine Arab union which it might not be able to manipulate or influence.

Soviet and Bloc representatives have overtly avoided contact with local Communist movements in both regions of the UAR and have outwardly maintained a correct aloofness from internal problems involving relationships between the government and the local Communist parties. Recent developments suggest, however, that the International Communist Movement far from jettisoning the indigenous Communist parties, plans to keep intact at least a disciplined cadre, underground if necessary. At a minimum such a movement could be expected to infiltrate nationalist groups and guide them toward anti-Western and anti-Baghdad Pact objectives; at a maximum, the USSR may hope to maintain an organized base from which to generate popular pressures on the UAR in case Nasir and his colleagues should demonstrate too much independence.

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Toward the pro-Western Arab states the USSR was directing a carefully balanced combination of open denunciation of their subordination to the West and largely unpublicized appeals through diplomatic channels designed to lessen support for the policies currently being followed. In a number of instances the Soviet Union has made attractive offers of economic aid and has urged the establishment of diplomatic relations, where such had not yet been established. Communist parties in these states have been under instructions to join indigenous nationalist-neutralist groups both as individuals and as parties, to encourage collaboration and National Front formation among such groups, and not to insist upon a prominent leadership role within these movements.

The official Soviet attitude toward Iran has remained rather friendly and there have been offers of technical and economic aid. The official attitude toward Turkey has varied but during the last few months there have been efforts to cultivate Turkish friendship with increased cultural and psychological contacts. Nevertheless there have been continued propaganda pressures, not openly acknowledged as manifestations of official Soviet governmental attitudes, such as the agitation for the liberation of Khozrow Ruzbeh and ^{the recently} ~~the~~ anti-government Turkish broadcasts initiated from Leipzig in March. Radio Yerevan which is broadcasting in Armenian and Azerbaijani, has been seeking to enlist the sympathy of these important minority groups in the Treaty area.

The principal objective of Soviet Bloc strategy with regard to Pakistan has been to undermine Pakistan's pro-Western alignments and stimulate a trend toward neutralism. In pursuing this objective the Bloc has followed a dual policy of exhibiting a friendly interest and desire to help Pakistan

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on the one hand, and of making more or less blunt threats of the possible consequences to Pakistan of continuing its present foreign policies.

A recent and striking example of the threatening approach is the Soviet note to the Government of Pakistan in April 1958, protesting ^{alleged} US bases in Pakistan. It stressed that Pakistan belonged to "alliances which are hostile to the USSR, such as the Baghdad Pact and SEATO" and charged that "launching grounds for guided missiles and aerodromes for strategic aviation bombers... are being erected in Pakistan to be used by the armed forces of the US and other partners of Pakistan in military-political blocs for aggressive purposes." The friendlier approach takes the form of visits to Pakistan by Soviet delegations, invitations to Pakistani leaders to visit the USSR and offers of economic and technical aid.

III. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The goals which the Soviet Union is trying to attain with its present strategy have not changed materially since the last report, although there have been some tactical adjustments to new situations. Among the constant factors in Soviet strategy aims are:

- (a) Destruction of security systems such as the Baghdad Pact, which are directed against Soviet and Communist penetration.
- (b) Isolation and intimidation of pro-Western governments or, alternately, persuasion of such governments through a mixture of threats and friendly approaches to adopt a neutralist attitude.
- (c) Elimination of Western political, economic and cultural ties and their replacement by Soviet Bloc ties and influences.

- (d) Continuation of the Soviet Bloc posture as a major source of military supply and advice, most important trade partner and source of economic aid, and a prominent source of cultural influence in the countries of the Pact area.
- (e) Continuation of the Soviet posture as an important source of support and, where possible, as a leading force for "liberation" and other "anti-imperialist" struggles throughout Asia and Africa.

The USSR continues to view these goals as part and parcel of its over all struggle with the West and as contributing to the removal of local obstacles to the establishment of Soviet supremacy in and eventual communization of the Pact area.

IV. METHODS

The methods currently used by the Soviet Bloc also have not changed materially since the preparation of the last report. They still include:

- (a) The development of state to state relationships as a vehicle for peaceful penetration.
- (b) Continued exploitation through propaganda and international Communist-controlled and influenced organizations of
 - (i) Ultra-nationalism;
 - (ii) Distrust of the West;
 - (iii) Alleged Soviet technical achievements and readiness to "come to terms with the West";
 - (iv) Fear of war;
 - (v) "Colonialism";
 - (vi) Afro-Asian sentiment.

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With regard to the last-mentioned point the International Communist Fronts have moved aggressively since early January 1948, to exploit the tactical opportunities offered by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Cairo. Virtually all of these organizations have endorsed the resolutions of that Conference and have announced their intention of supporting the programs approved at the gathering. However, the Conference itself has not yet gathered any major organizational momentum. The Permanent Secretariat, originally scheduled to meet March 1, has not been able to hold its first constituent session. Most of its ten members have not yet arrived. It may be characteristic, however, that of the three members, aside from the Egyptian Secretary General, Yusuf al-Sibai, who have taken their seats two are the Soviet and the Communist Chinese representative respectively. Communist front organizations are vigorously promoting Afro-Asian participation in such gatherings as the WPC-sponsored Congress for Disarmament and Peaceful Co-existence to be held in Stockholm in July 1958, and are injecting their national affiliates and more reliable individual adherents into such derivative Afro-Asian gatherings as the Youth Conference, scheduled to be held in Cairo, and the Economic Conference also to be held in Cairo in December 1958, at the initiative of the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce. The Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to be held in Tashkent in October 1958, is a particularly significant gathering, since it represents the first Afro-Asian initiated gathering to be held within the Soviet Bloc.

To date the international Communist fronts have exercised considerable restraint and have not attempted to control the organization of and participation in Afro-Asian gatherings. They have rather worked through reliable individuals and national affiliates in order to generate action and enthusiasm by others, so far with only limited success. Pressure of a

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political and diplomatic nature is, however, being generated by the Bloc to stimulate these activities and a steady increase in these pressures is considered likely.

V. THREAT TO THE PACT AREA FROM SOVIET PENETRATION AND COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE SURROUNDING REGION.

A. THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

The formation of the UAR has had a significant influence on the status of the Communist Party in Syria and on the steady drift of Syria into the Soviet camp. As in Egypt, the internal activities of the Communist Party have been curtailed and in the field of relations with the Soviet Union the direction has shifted completely to President Nasir. Soviet initial silence on the subject of union was paralleled by Syrian Communist and pro-Communist maneuvers and statements aimed at retaining as much autonomy as possible for Syria and in particular preserving, if possible, the system of multiple parties and blocs so essential to the effective use of the Communist unity of action tactics. Khalid Bakdash opposed the dissolution of the political parties in Syria and declared that the Communist Party would not dissolve. This attitude was based on the argument that the Party was not authorized in Syria and therefore could not be dissolved. However, Bakdash left Syria on February 4 and in a statement made in Prague on February 27, 1958, undoubtedly reflected the line currently laid down for the local Communist parties. The statement accepted the formation of the UAR, welcomed Nasir's international posture, but admitted to some reservations about Egypt's internal policies. It also reiterated that the Syrian Communist Party would continue its work notwithstanding the decision of all other Syrian parties to disband.

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There is little doubt that the formation of the UAR and the attitude of the Syrian Communist Party toward this event has adversely affected the prestige of the Party. From a position of open activity and significant influence on policy formation it has once more been reduced to underground activities. Up to May 1958 these activities have been relatively meager. The Communist newspaper an-Nur is still being published, but it apparently no longer carries official party material. An-Nur has resisted recent efforts of Egyptian authorities to consolidate the press of Syria and has chosen to run the risk of folding under Egyptian financial and political pressures. The newspaper may be relying on Soviet subsidies to maintain itself. The Party will probably depend primarily upon clandestine means to issue instructions to party members.

There had been earlier reports of "Titoism" within the Syrian Communist Party and it is possible that this dispute will be sharpened. On the ideological front the renewed conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR will increase the importance of this issue and locally "nationalist communists" may be disenchanted with the official Communist Party response to the union. However, reports on splits and on defections from the Communist Party should probably be treated with reserve.

In Egypt the Communist Party has made further advances toward unity. In January 1958 the United Communist Party and the Workers and Peasant Communist Party of Egypt completed arrangements for unification which in effect brought unity to the major Communist factions of Egypt. The Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, on its part, appears to have stepped up plans to counteract potential increases in subversive strength. There have been more arrests and trials of minor figures and there has been more stringent control applied to Communist

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literature entering Egypt. However, Nasir apparently is averse to controls which are too stringent and he may tend to rely on Communists who support him, to control the situation.

As during previous periods of review the Egyptian Communists have not shown themselves anxious to subvert the regime. This state of affairs is likely to continue in the Egyptian as well as Syrian sectors as long as Nasir follows international policies acceptable to the Soviet Union. The union between Egypt and Syria was not welcomed by the Egyptian party leaders but they too did not take any action against it and accommodated themselves to the new conditions. The formation of the UAR has revived talk of union between the Syrian and Egyptian parties which had been considered already prior to the establishment of the UAR.

The formation of the UAR has suppressed the tensions and maneuverings among the various Syrian political and military factions, but the situation does not appear to have been fully consolidated and jockeying for position is apparently continuing. The strongest advocates of closer relations with the Soviet Union Khalid al-Azm and General Afif Bizri have been eliminated from active politics in Syria. For the time being at least Nasir appears to be in full control of the Syrian scene and able to impose his will.

Nasir's close relations with the Soviet Union have continued during the period under review and were highlighted by his visit to Moscow in May 1958. The atmosphere of Nasir's visit was cordial and the joint communique issued on May 15, 1958, expressed the "profound satisfaction" of the two governments "at the development of close and continuously broadened relations between the two countries." The two governments also reaffirmed "their support for the

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principles proclaimed in Bandung, which continue to unite the peoples of Asia and Africa, attract growing attention of world public opinion, and have been reaffirmed by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held in Cairo in 1957, which expressed the hopes and aspirations of these two continents." The communique also supported the Soviet line with regard to overall international issues, such as nuclear developments and summit meetings. In a speech delivered upon his return to Cairo on May 16, President Nasir stressed the friendship between the UAR and the USSR. He stated that he had gone to the USSR "after having proclaimed the policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment" and asserted that the leaders of the USSR supported him in this policy. At the same time Nasir repeated most of the propaganda themes directed against "imperialism" and Near Eastern governments "subservient to the West" which his regime and the USSR had utilized in the past.

In spite of continued hostile propaganda against the West and governments friendly to the West, Nasir's stress on "non-alignment" and such gestures as his endeavors to solve the problem of compensation to Suez Canal Company shareholders before his Moscow trip, indicate that he still desires to normalize his relations with the West. However, the Soviet Union can be expected to try to bring cautious pressures to bear on the government of the UAR to keep it from following a course which would be counter to Soviet aims in the area.

B. LEBANON

During the period under review political pressures increased in Lebanon and culminated in widespread disorders during May 1958. The opponents of the regime were supported by Soviet propaganda which charged

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"Western imperialist" instigation. The local Communists have no doubt sought to profit from the disturbances and have cooperated with anti-regime forces, but have not taken the lead in the opposition movement.

C. INDIA

The Communist Party of India (CPI) at its all-India Congress in April, the first in two years, made changes in its constitution and political program which on the surface make the party seem more like any other party in India. The new constitution omits the clause of the old constitution which said that the party is a part of the international Communist movement, it supports civil liberties, and ostensibly espouses peaceful, parliamentary means to achieve power. The pattern of organization was changed to eliminate units that have undemocratic connotations -- the politburo and the cell. These changes, party leaders said, were a necessary sequel to the unexpected success of the CPI in the general elections of 1957; the party has an obligation to its supporters to become a mass party capable of contesting future elections on an equal footing with the Congress Party. In short, the party intends to develop broad voting strength rather than cadres. The purpose of the recent changes is to attract non-communist Indians who are dissatisfied with the Congress government's performance and favor a more outspoken stand on local popular grievances, but who have hitherto mistrusted the CPI's dependence on Moscow and its reliance on violence to gain its ends.

The CPI has not become independent of the international Communist movement. Though the new constitution has dropped the specific statement of support for international Communism, it says: "the CPI is guided by the

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philosophy and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism... which alone show the toiling masses the correct way to put an end to domination of class by class and the establishment of a socialist society... It works out its policies by integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation... It draws on the rich experience of the International Working Class movement extending over more than a hundred years, on the experience of the Soviet Union, China, and all countries of People's Democracy, as well as of all Communist and Workers' Parties." CPI General Secretary Ajoy Ghosh wrote in the party's monthly journal for February 1958: "We are a part of the international Communist movement. We are a part of the great fraternity of Communist and working-class parties which leads the battle of humanity for peace, for democracy and socialism.. The program put forward in the Manifesto adopted by 64 parties in the momentous Moscow Conference has to be carried to our people and made the basis of a powerful mass campaign."

The CPI has failed to explain how it reconciles peaceful means with adherence to Marxism. In fact, the new constitution says only that the party "strives" to win power peacefully. The party's pledge on civil rights is qualified. The new constitution guarantees under a Communist-built socialist society only "the widest possible extension of individual liberty, freedom of speech, press and association, and the right of political organization to all, including those in opposition to the government, as long as they abide by the constitution of the country." (underlining added). The last point refers to the right of other parties to exist if the CPI were in power, but leaves open the question of what kind of constitution might then be in effect. The party is silent on the

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question, known to be a matter of debate within the party, whether after coming to power by constitutional means Communists would allow themselves to be voted out of power.

The organizational changes, billed far and wide during the party's recent drive for new members as moves toward "democratization," thus mean little. As in the past, the new constitution says that the party is organized on the principles of "democratic centralism," defined as "central leadership based on the full inner-party democracy under the guidance of centralized leadership." Other sections of the constitution make it clear that the "guidance of centralized leadership" still allows almost dictatorial control by the hierarchy and, in a showdown, hardly more "inner-party democracy" than in the past. Similarly, the much publicized abolition of the cell may have little meaning. Under the new constitution the branch rather than the cell is the primary unit of organization. Branches are to be established on a territorial basis rather than by industry or other special interest group. The branch, however, "may be divided into groups of convenient sizes," and "group" may become another name for "cell."

The Communist victory in Kerala in the 1957 election, which for the first time in India brought a state government under Communist control, is a major reason for the party's attempts to present a constitutional face. The Communist ministry in Kerala will be allowed by the central government to rule only so long as it abides by the national constitution. This restriction limits the ministry's freedom to use totalitarian methods to deal with the state's chronic problems of food and land shortages and unemployment. Yet the Kerala ministry must bring about enough improvement to convince the people that the Communist

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Party holds out more hope of progress than any other party. So far the ministry has not "solved" Kerala's basic problems and the people of the state are showing some signs of impatience. However, there does not now appear to be an inclination to overthrow the government. For one thing, the Congress party does not present an attractive alternative locally. For another, the Communist ministry has made a steady record of modest accomplishments. It has raised the wages of several hundred thousand state employees and introduced numerous benefits for private employees, increased efficiency in administrative procedures, reduced the pay of ministers, taken steps to root out corruption, and stopped evictions of poor tenants from lands they illegally occupy. In dealing with the central government, the ministry has generally been accommodating and flexible. The Chief Minister, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, has made speeches and held press conferences throughout India and without fail has presented himself and his ministry as models of moderation.

On the other hand the Kerala ministry's much publicized devotion to constitutionalism has not prevented the ministry and the party from laying the groundwork for a Communist society. Administration at top levels has been centralized to give the ministers more direct authority, a number of important new state posts have been created and staffed with Communists, the proportion of Communists in the secretariat, police and teaching corps has increased, and numerous "advisory" boards with Communists in the majority have been established to deal with special problems. In some villages "people's committees" with a predominance of Communists, set up with the ministry's encouragement, are superseding the authority of local government units. Communist-controlled trade

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unions are using intimidating tactics without police interference to build up their unions at the expense of non-communist unions. All told, Communists have so entrenched themselves in the state's administration and services from top to bottom that they could not easily or quickly be dislodged if the present government fell, and the strengthened party organization would remain. Meanwhile, the publicity machinery of the state government and of the all-India Communist Party are being utilized to play up all achievements of the Kerala government, comparing them most favorably with those of other state governments even when in fact the Kerala record is less good. The importance the all-India Party attaches to Kerala as a showpiece is shown by inclusion in the political resolution adopted at the April Congress of an injunction on party units throughout the country to "publicize Kerala."

For several months preceding the April Congress, organizational matters received considerable CPI attention. Provincial units held conferences to discuss the proposed changes in the party constitution. The party concentrated on a countrywide membership drive during which it temporarily suspended the requirement that an individual must serve an apprenticeship as a candidate member. CPI membership increased in a year from about 125,000 to 220,000, with the following states accounting for the largest number of members: Kerala, 56,000; Andhra, 52,000; West Bengal, 24,200; Madras, 20,000; Bihar, 16,381; Uttar Pradesh, 12,300; Punjab, 10,000; and Maharashtra, 9,000.

Asian-African solidarity has been a conspicuous Communist theme. Recent CPI propaganda has concentrated on independence for Algeria, the ending of racial discrimination in South Africa, abandonment of nuclear tests, and the holding of a summit meeting. These demands were played up in party publications, along with numerous articles praising Communist

countries, and through front groups. Considerable publicity was given to the activities of various front "friendship" societies, including the Indo-China Friendship Society's third national conference in February 1958. The All-India Peace Council, which observed "Summit Conference Fortnight" in February, plans to broaden its aims so as to attract a wider variety of supporters.

A Communist-sponsored conference of Hindi writers was held in December 1957. The Bureau of the World Peace Council met in New Delhi in March 1958, with delegates from 28 countries attending, but got little publicity despite its announcement that a congress for disarmament and international cooperation -- ideas appealing to many Indians -- would be held in Stockholm in July 1958. The Communist-front Indian People's Theatre Association in March 1958, held a national conference and festival, with the participation of a number of prominent Indians interested in developing Indian arts, including the Vice President. The student and youth fronts do not seem to be carrying out a well-planned nationwide program. They demonstrate and agitate sporadically, mainly in behalf of local grievances.

Generally the CPI is apparently concentrating on the special-interest group best organized to produce votes in an election -- the trade unions. The Communist-controlled All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) is a major arm of party activity in urban areas, where the party is strongest. It was important in turning out the Communist vote in the 1957 elections, and is headed by a prominent member of the CPI high command, S. A. Dange, who is also a force in Bombay politics. AITUC is making headway among trade unions, though Congress and socialist-oriented unions now number

twice as many members as Communist unions.

Apart from Kerala, the most serious Communist threat in the labor field is developing on the tea plantations of Assam and in the state-owned heavy industries being built in eastern India. The Communist unions, anticipating a great increase in the number of state employees to man these large industries, are making government workers, clerical as well as industrial, a major target. It is significant that among the five states having the largest ATTUC membership, three of the four, other than Kerala, are those in which Communists hope to come to power at the general elections of 1962.

The Communist peasant front is weak and ineffectual in most areas, though it is reviving in Madras and is strong in Kerala. The membership of this front, the All-India Kisan Sabha, according to its own figures has dropped from more than one million in 1954-55 to about 600,000 during the past year. The party high command has neglected this important segment of the population, the most numerous in the country but politically unsophisticated and difficult to "educate" and organize, while concentrating on the more receptive and more manageable urban labor. The CPI, though preoccupied with its own problems, still acts as older brother to the Communist Party of East Pakistan.

VI. COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN MEMBER STATES OF THE PACT AREA AND IN JORDAN.

In the member countries of the area Communist activities continued to be contained. The Arab Union between Iraq and Jordan has been attacked by Soviet propaganda as being "dominated by imperialists" and "obstructing the path of Arab nationalism."

VII. OUTLOOK

The strategy of the Soviet Union and of the International Communist

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Movement in the Treaty area is not likely to undergo basic changes during the next six months. The USSR is likely to continue to stress state to state relationships and "aid without strings." The Bloc will be anxious to consolidate the economic gains it has made, and as long as the Soviets see any possibility of political returns they will continue to press for technical exchanges and training, and will tailor their trade policies, as far as feasible, toward undercutting the West. Bloc economic aid will also continue to be exploited for propaganda purposes, and attractive-sounding offers will continue to be made for propaganda purposes or to induce countries, which have not already done so, to establish economic relations with the Bloc.

The renewal of the ideological conflict between the Bloc and Yugoslavia and its political implications may well have increasing repercussions in the Treaty area, particularly if the dispute should become increasingly bitter. Local fellow travelers and party members who are not fully indoctrinated ideological Communists but rather misguided nationalists might become alarmed at the insistence of the International Communist Movement on conformity and the supremacy of Moscow. The dispute may also provide opportunities to show the real aims of the Soviet Union in the area and the utilization of the International Communist Movement by the USSR for purposes of Soviet expansion and domination.

While the USSR has apparently accepted the UAR and the relegation of the Syrian Communist Party to an inferior role, the Soviets can be expected to try to maintain Communist cadres, if necessary underground, in both regions of the UAR and to exert pressures of various kinds upon

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the UAR Government should that Government want to take policy lines distasteful to the USSR. In its propaganda the Bloc can be expected to continue to support Nasir and extreme Arab anti-Western nationalism and to attack governments friendly to or associated with the West. The Soviet Union also is likely to continue to exploit, diplomatically and through propaganda, all conflicts which may arise in the area in order to discredit the policies of the West and of states associated with the West.

The USSR and the International Communist Movement can also be expected to continue to support Afro-Asian gatherings and organizations, and to try to use them, where feasible, for the promotion of Soviet and Communist goals.

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